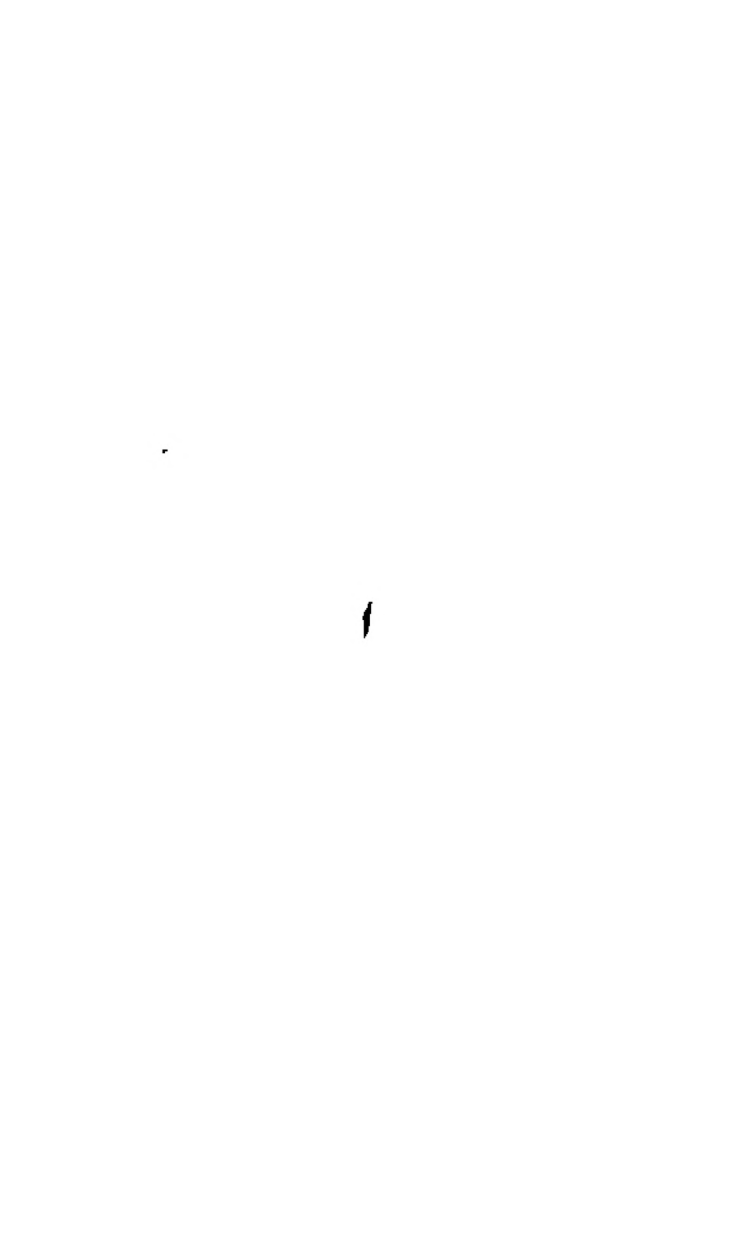


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Rudolf Eicken

THE PHILOSOPHY
OF
UDOLF EUCKEN

BY
W. TUDOR JONES
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PREFACE,

In the following pages an attempt is made to sketch some of the fundamental aspects of the teaching of one of the most remarkable men of our day. Nothing more than an outline can be given in the space at my disposal, but I believe it to be possible to present in a brief and clear manner the most important elements of Eucken's teaching without mutilation. The reader must look upon this little plume as a finger-post pointing to some of the most weighty contributions which Eucken has made in the domains of Metaphysics and of Religion. The value of his teaching lies in the attempt which he has made to liberate the spirit of man from the bondage of Naturalism and Intellectualism in their various forms, and to show that man's spirit possesses a self-subsistence of its own. If the

reader will bear in mind this fact he will obtain a key to the Philosophy of Rudolf Eucken.

I wish to thank the Rev. W. G. Tarrant for his kindness in reading the proofs and in making several valuable suggestions.

The extracts from Eucken's works presented here are from my own translations.

W. TUDOR JONES.

LONDON,

August 1, 1914.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
CHAPTER	
I. LIFE AND WORK	1
II. THE NATURE OF SPIRIT	8
III. EUCKEN'S OWN LIFE-SYSTEM OF A PERSONAL- COSMIC WORLD	26
IV. RELIGION	43
LIST OF EUCKEN'S WORKS	73

RUDOLF EUCKEN

CHAPTER I .

LIFE AND WORK . . .

RUDOLF EUCKEN was born at Aurich, in East Frisia, on January 5, 1846. He was the elder of two boys, the second of whom died when quite a child. In the same year the father also died, leaving behind the young mother with her only son. The town of Aurich possessed a good High School, and to one of the teachers—Wilhelm Reuter—Eucken has on many occasions expressed his gratitude. When eighteen years of age he proceeded to the University of Göttingen, and attended the philosophical lectures of Lotze and of Teichmüller. He gained much in an intellectual sense from the teaching of the former, but from the latter (a man less known than Lotze) he was greatly influenced in a region deeper than that of the understanding. After remaining two years at Göttingen he proceeded to Berlin, and came under the influence of Trendelenburg. This influence deepened what

had taken place with Reuter at the High School and with Teichmüller at Göttingen. After having remained one year in Berlin he returned to Göttingen and took his Doctor's Degree. For the next four years we find him serving as a High School teacher; and in 1871, at the age of twenty-five, he was appointed Professor of Philosophy and Pedagogy at the University of Basel. Here he found much spare time for reading, and devoted himself mainly to the study of the history of philosophical thought. In 1874 he received a call to succeed the late Runo Fischer as Professor of Philosophy in Jena. And in Jena he has remained, in spite of several invitations to other Universities; for, indeed, it can be said of him, as of Schiller, that he thinks it would be very difficult to find a more congenial spot in which to brood over the deep things of eternity. The little town is even yet an old-world place. The University and the Market Place are only about two hundred yards apart. In stepping from the former to the latter one steps from the twentieth century to the Middle Ages. The Thüringen folk have kept their national characteristics and habits almost unimpaired, and give one a real glimpse of the life of the past better than any text-book or picture can possibly do. The blend of past and present in the life of

this little town has a wonderful attraction not only for German thinkers and artists, but also for men and women drawn from the various countries of the world.

Eucken has found the place congenial for his health and work. Indeed, it is doubted by several people who have known him well for many years whether he has ever been ill or can be ill, and also whether for the past twenty years his table has been for one day free from printers' proofs. Still, he has time for all callers and for the minutest details of life.

As a lecturer, Eucken is a personality of great influence. He never reads his lecture, and most of his quotations are from memory. The subjects he generally deals with are the History of Ancient and Modern Philosophy, Ethics, Metaphysics, and the well-known Introduction to Philosophy—a class which he holds at 7 a.m. in summer and at 8 a.m. in winter, and which has for many years been crowded with hearers from all the Faculties of the University and from various parts of the world.

The reader will find at the close of this volume a list of Eucken's works. It is not possible to deal with them here in detail, but it may be stated that they mark several stages of his intellectual and religious life. His earlier treatises dealt with the

Philosophy of Aristotle. This was the subject of his dissertation at Göttingen, and his Aristotelian studies were continued afterwards at the High Schools where he taught. His main object here seemed to have been this, to take up one of the great thinkers of the world and spend a great deal of time over his teaching. Such a thinker becomes to anyone who sees deeply into his teaching not merely an individual thinker, but also a type or pattern of what mankind should be. It is impossible to dwell long upon a great personality without discovering beneath his teaching the life of the spirit of the man. And such an element is afterwards looked for in the life of every other great thinker. Further, when a great thinker is studied seriously for a long time, one can see how far one is able to accept his teaching; and, though much of the teaching may have to be rejected, the spirit which moved the great thinker is seen to be something of imperishable value. Thus in Aristotle Eucken found much that was helpful, and although he had to reject much, he discovered the presence of the life of the spirit in his great model—a life which was deeper than all the thinker was able to say about it or about anything else. This without a doubt gave Eucken the key to his great book, *Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker*. In

his volume we are presented with the views of life propounded by the great thinkers of the world. These views vary: no two thinkers are alike in their intellectual presentations and solutions of the problems of the world and of life. But though two separate islands rising in the sea have certainly no connection above the surface of the water, still, if we are able to plumb to the bottom, they are there one. Eucken then saw that in every thinker there was present a life of mind and spirit deeper than anything that life was able to state about the world or about itself.

At the next stage of Eucken's development we find such a life of the spirit of man becoming the core of his teaching. He now sees the message he has to deliver to the world. It is the announcement of the presence of a self-subsistent cosmic life within man—a life that is only gradually realized by human beings.

The first clear presentation of this is given in the *Prolegomena zu Forschungen über die Einheit des Geisteslebens in Bewusstsein und That der Menschheit*. This small book was published in 1885, when Eucken was thirty-nine years of age. The work is probably the most scientific of all his books. It is a psychological analysis of consciousness, and the difference between a psychological and

a noological consideration of man is pointed out. The ground is now prepared for Eucken's great work—a work which, in the opinion of several of Eucken's pupils, surpasses all his works in importance. The present writer agrees with this verdict concerning *Die Einheit des Geisteslebens in Bewusstsein und That der Menschheit*. This volume of 500 closely printed pages appeared in 1888, when the author was forty-two years of age. Eucken's whole system had now clearly formed itself in his mind, and all his later works express and illuminate the central concept of the Spiritual Life from various points of view. It is a great work and is alone sufficient to establish the author's reputation as having brought forward a new element into the Philosophy of the nineteenth century. The later works, noticed at the close, have passed through many editions, and have been translated into many languages.

Eucken's influence extended to the Scandinavian countries at an earlier period than it did to any other. The last edition of *The Truth of Religion* is dedicated to the memory of the late King Oscar II. of Sweden. In 1908 Eucken received the Nobel Prize for Literature. It may be stated that his influence has been widespread only during the past twelve years. His pupils have always been greatly

influenced by his personality as well as by his teaching, and have helped much to create Eucker's reputation. He has been extremely fortunate in having his gospel made known by many distinguished young men from Finland to New Zealand and from Japan to America.

In the following pages some of the cardinal points of his teaching will be presented in as clear a manner as the subject-matter will allow.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF SPIRIT

WE have thus noticed the gradual development of Eucken's system, and enough has already been said to show that this system is not a mere emphasis of the small subjective self, but the inauguration of a life other than the life of the 'mere individual.' The great personalities of the world always possessed a life deeper than the ordinary life, or than the intellectual life. The world is just beginning to see this once again. It is now at the end of a period of Expansion—a period which has brought many values into the world, but which has left the deepest soul of man as poor as ever. The fact that man is capable of feeling the need for something higher and nobler in the midst of the material plenty which has rained upon him for over a century is a proof that his nature is greater than anything the external world can offer him. "*A Yea far over-*tops the *Nay* as soon as it is recognized that the movement of universal history is not a mere web

of human opinions and interpretations, but that real further development of life results by means of it, that new aims and energies appear, and that, indeed, a content of life becomes possible for the first time—a content which develops the life in a manner essentially different from that of the initial stages. Such a movement is not merely of assistance to man, it makes something *essentially new* out of him; it gives for the first time value to the idea of what human life and personality ought to be. The working out of a *self-existence and self-subsistence for reality* which happens in this manner can happen, as we have already seen, only by means of an *inversion of the initial situation*, and not in any way by means of a uniform and calm progress. The Biblical words concerning the builders with the trowel in one hand and the sword in the other hold good in connection with all the development of the life of the spirit as well as in connection with the progressive freedom which occurs within the soul. The fact that we ever remain in the realm of quest and effort, and that, indeed, all our developing conclusions reveal our limitations and even our weakness, destroys in no manner the truth-character of the whole. Though the new movement of the soul, with its superiority to the individual in his merely natural state, does

of human opinions and interpretations, but that real further development of life results by means of it, that new aims and energies appear, and that, indeed, a content of life becomes possible for the first time—a content which develops the life in a manner essentially different from that of the initial stages. Such a movement is not merely of assistance to man, it makes something *essentially new* out of him; it gives for the first time value to the idea of what human life and personality ought to be. The working out of a *self-existence and self-subsistence for reality* which happens in this manner can happen, as we have already seen, only by means of an *inversion of the initial situation*, and not in any way by means of a uniform and calm progress. The Biblical words concerning the builders with the trowel in one hand and the sword in the other hold good in connection with all the development of the life of the spirit as well as in connection with the progressive freedom which occurs within the soul. The fact that we ever remain in the realm of quest and effort, and that, indeed, all our developing conclusions reveal our limitations and even our weakness, destroys in no manner the truth-character of the whole. Though the new movement of the soul, with its superiority to the individual in his merely natural state, does

not contain as yet the full possession of truth, still it instils into the soul elements of truth, so that the smallness of the individual becomes a testimony to the greatness of the whole matter. When, however, a great movement takes place within human life for granting Reality a *self-subsistence*, and when this movement becomes a *personal fact*, there results within the soul a new relation to Reality and to Knowledge. "Over against all anxiety and doubt concerning any *particular* truths there is signified here the fact of a movement towards Truth—a movement which is very far removed from all subjective inclinations and human opinions."*

This passage illustrates well Eucken's main points with regard to the nature of spirit. We now proceed to interpret briefly Eucken's conceptions of the nature of spirit on its *active, historical cosmic, and personal* sides.

Man is not a completed being. He is, in one sense, a microcosm of the great macrocosm, but this does not mean that all is mature apart from his own conscious effort. It is certainly true that potencies exist in man which cannot be reduced either to mechanism or intellectualism, but such potencies have to come into contact and even into

* *Knowledge and Life*, pp. 197 ff.

conflict with a world of space and time. Man's spirit in the past has done much in extracting the secrets of such a world, and the secrets of the world have become a part of his own spirit. Thus, through contact with the physical universe and with the nature of thought man has gained a life which is more than his mere subjective inclinations and wishes. Something of an ideal thus presents itself to the individual life, and constitutes a reality higher in its nature than the self in its ordinary natural state. Life, though it lives in the midst of realities greater than itself, does not obtain them as its possession without perpetual battle. In the world below man's struggle has played a most important part, and when the human level is reached the fact is not otherwise. How, for instance, could man have ever stepped from the level of savagery to that of a gradually higher civilization and culture? There is no other answer than that he placed potencies and needs of his nature in operation without probably being more than dimly aware of the nature of such potencies and needs, or of any kind of definite end in the future. But the 'end' of the preservation of his own life—the will to live—was at least present, and this 'will to live' could not exist without taking into account the experiences of the

relations which had come into existence by living together as a number of individuals. Something had to be *done* before the whole nature of what it was could become known. Thus, man gains a special kind of existence long before he is able to interpret such an existence. He lives a reality for which he has often blindly striven, although he may be far from being able to account for it. It is not sufficient to emphasize the physical and social factors which operate in every act of life; it is not enough to say that man acts in such and such a manner because his physical security is at stake. The physical security, when analyzed, is seen to have been brought about by a *reed of the spirit* and by the incoming of an experience which is more than subjective—which, in fact, is *over-individual*. It is strange that anyone should deny the presence of such a spirit in man, or of the over-individual elements which are always present whenever man takes, consciously or unconsciously, an upward step. The whole movements of the world are proofs of such a relation of man's spirit to an over-individual material. The time never arrives in a man's life when these should cease to operate. He can never say: "So far, and no farther; now everything has been completed." It is true that the result of effort means a preservation of his existence and

an increase of happiness. This has entered into his nature, and grants him temporary peace and rest. But his nature once again discovers new and deeper needs, which have to be satisfied, and the nature once again is forced into activity in order that new portions of reality may enter into his life. Man's spirit is thus a *deed*. Such a *deed* is not devoid of thought, but the thought is one imbedded in the deed, and not a thought which surveys the deed after the act is accomplished. And, as we shall see, it is on account of this truth that Eucken parts company with all speculative metaphysics. Such speculative metaphysics, in the various forms it has assumed during the nineteenth century, has in a very large measure taken the nature and development of thought into account apart from the deeds of life. The struggle to understand the nature of thought and its implications is doubtless a severe one, but it can be accomplished without taking into account at all the actual conflicts of life, as these have developed in the course of the centuries and as they have created civilization, culture, art, morality, and religion. Consequently we find Eucken, throughout his long career, pleading for a *Metaphysic* not of the Schools but of *Life*. It is ever so much more important to deal with the *over-individual* implications of thought in its

relation to deed than in its relation to nothing outside its own diverse forms.

Further, the Philosophy that views man's spirit from its active side has many resemblances with Pragmatism, as this has been presented by the late Professor James, Professor Dewey, and Dr. Schiller. Eucken says: "We are at one with many of the Pragmatists with regard to the necessity of making the assertion of the *actual elevation of life* the touchstone of Truth, and, indeed, we are at one with the main atmosphere of Pragmatism. But we must bring the accusation against it that it does not sufficiently distinguish between the *natural desires* and the *elevation of life*, between the decoration of a *given* world and the struggle of a *new* one, between what is *useful* and what is *good*." Eucken's main divergence from Pragmatism, then, consists in his announcement of a stage of life higher than the 'merely human' stage. "We have," he says, "outgrown the standard of a welfare merely human, and all the values of such welfare cannot blind us to their narrowness and emptiness. Nothing is so characteristic of man as that he possesses a nature that must strive to go beyond itself; such a characteristic and effort may often be ignored, but they can never be entirely

* *Knowledge and Life*, p. 94.

suppressed.”* In so far as Pragmatism has real value, this value has been obtained not by merely emphasizing the natural activities of life and the demands of the hour, but by idealizing the view of human life. Whenever life ascends, there is present some need and some end in which the need can be satisfied. In other words, the potency of the spirit of man and an over-individual ideal are present. When man's spirit, in spite of struggles within and without, climbs to its ideal, a new piece of reality becomes the permanent possession of the soul.

When we take the next phase of the nature of spirit, we discover that it carries us farther in the direction of *objective reality*. This reality is the movement of mankind by means of its civilization, culture, art, science, and religion. These form great complexes of life, and persist often for generations as paths of life and progress, as well as goals of human endeavour. These Life-systems have shaped the destinies of the world. The meaning of History, in its most real sense, is to be found in the rise, growth, and decay of these Syntagmas or Life-systems. These may only touch a portion of man's nature, and may leave his deeper part untouched. This is the case, according to Eucken, in connection with the two great life-systems

* *Knowledge and Life*, p. 83.

of our own generation—viz., those of Naturalism and Intellectualism. It will be well for us to deal with these at the present juncture, for they represent, in a large measure, Eucken's view of *Spirit as revealed in History*.

There is a very important sense in which Naturalism is justified. The transition of life in modern times has been more and more in the direction of the physical world. The adventures of man on land and sea have yielded rich results. Wealth undreamed of before has become the possession of the Western World. The most distant parts of the world have been brought nearer to us. The inventions of the past fifty years in connection with the physical world are too numerous to be mentioned. It is doubtless true that they have exercised great influence upon the whole life of man—an influence, the magnitude of which most men are unaware of. Our attention, as Eucken notices in several of his books, has been turned so much to things outside us that we are on the verge of considering everything which cannot be seen with the eyes, or heard with the ears, or handled with the hands as shadowy and unreal. Naturalism as a Life-system has been beneficial on the external side, and could have been beneficial on the side of the inner life had it not been that it

is not conscious of its limitations, and that it ignores the very power which has brought it into existence and which has enabled it to live at all. It has quite overlooked the fact that we must have mind or spirit to know things at all; mind or spirit is ever present in describing, classifying, and interpreting things; mind or spirit has ever to give meaning, value, and significance to the things, which present themselves to it in the external world. Is it a wonder that man may be lamentably poor in the midst of external plenty! The good things of the world would have destroyed man before now had it not been that his spirit has refused to succumb to the treatment meted out to it on the whole during the last fifty years. And though in individual cases man's spirit may be buried under a mass of external things, such a calamity can never happen to mankind as a whole. "Mankind in our day," says Eucken, "has discovered much of value in sailing from pole to pole and in exploring the bowels of the earth in the most distant lands, but it has not discovered its own soul or added an iota to that which constitutes the deeper happiness of life."

The world is beginning to see this on all the levels of knowledge and life. Even Natural Science itself is seen to-day to be something quite

different from a naïve Naturalism. It is now seen that no science could have originated and developed without the presence of the human mind, which has to transform physical impressions into mental conceptions, and which has to universalize such conceptions and use them as mental models into which every particular fact that presents itself to the mind must enter and obtain its interpretation, meaning, and value. A world of mind or spirit is ever present and requisite if the physical world is to mean more to us than it means to the animal. We are consequently led to the inevitable conclusion that alongside of the reality of the physical world there is another kind of reality which knows and uses the world. This reality is mental and spiritual; its origin and development lie in a large measure in obscurity; but we know that it exists because it has turned the confusion of things into order and utility; it has provided a secure abode for the physical man, and has interpreted his world for him.

It is not a mere speculation but an actual fact that man is more than the things he needs and uses; he is also more than the mental life which interprets the things he needs and uses. Such a mental life is a life of the spirit and in so far as it is so constitutes a grade of reality higher than physical things. This is the inevitable conclusion

of natural science itself, but the world as yet has not grasped the significance of such a conclusion. When it is grasped, man will discover that 'the subtle thing termed spirit' is a reality which is meant to be filled with a content other than the things of the world. Man's nature needs *more*, and is capable of obtaining more than is offered by the senses. Our deepest hope, then, does not proceed from the physical universe, wonderful as such a universe may appear to us. Man's spirit is greater than matter and the life of the world, however much that spirit is hidden under a load of custom and conventionality. Eucken's call is for a recognition of this all-important fact. "Another aspiration of our day is that which looks for an emancipation from Life-systems of mere power and material development. This is an aspiration after a *self-subsistent* life. The 'turn' towards these systems had much to justify itself in many of the most important situations of history. It was the strong feeling of a new power and courage in mankind, conscious of its own development, which, in the beginning of modern times, succeeded in turning men from the weak and shy inwardness of the religious life as then conceived to a firmer grasp of reality; a change which, on its external side, worked for a subjugation of Nature, and, on its

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inner side, for the clarification and mastery through enlightened reason, of the various situations of life and of all human relations. How much was accomplished in this respect towards the subjugation of Nature and the development of Reason, and how much has been gained—all this is known and enjoyed by us all. But, with all this fully in view we are to-day convinced that all the heightening of material power and the increase of such power over the very soul itself have their limitations and that in no manner do they give life any genuine content. Notwithstanding expansion and prosperity unheard of before, we discover with pain an inward emptiness. We aspire ever more deeply towards a Goal or End, to which all increase of material things shall become subservient—a Goal or End into which material things will be transmuted and thus acquire their proper valuation. We are convinced that all toil and care which fail to serve such an end will finally prove of no avail. We feel this last more and more acutely. Indeed, the more urgent and expansive modern life becomes, the more anxiety it lays upon us, and the less fitted it becomes to grant life true peace and joy. *Either there is something more imbedded in life, or life passes quickly away into oblivion.** w

* *Knowledge and Life*, pp. 292, 294.

Eucken's sole point in all this is to show that man's deepest spirit cannot for long feel satisfied with a naturalistic conception of itself or of the universe. It needs more, and is made for more.

It is on this account that Eucken turns to examine the other great Life-system of *Intellectualism*, which has played such an important part in the thought and life of modern times. The fullest account of the strength and weakness of Intellectualism is presented in the *Einheit des Geisteslebens*. In some of his later books this system is referred to as Speculative Philosophy. In the English-speaking countries the system is known as Abolutism, and its most distinguished representative is Mr. F. H. Bradley. Without a doubt this Life-system has played too important a part in the history of the world to be dismissed without any more ado. And Eucken is aware of this fact, and many aspects of his teaching have close affinities to Intellectualism. Intellectualism has from the time of Plato downwards recognized the superiority of *reason* over the things of sense, and, on the whole, throughout the centuries it has considered man's spirit as being of a different origin and nature from the organic life of his own body and of the physical world. It has granted man's spirit a kind of self-subsistence. This

thread is clearly observed in the Metaphysics, Logic, and Psychology of the centuries. The strength of the System lies in its recognition of the nature of Reason and in its belief in the power of Reason. But its conclusions are, on the whole, the results of logical conclusions framed from premises which are far removed from man's relation to the world. In fact, a mental world, far removed from man's vocation in the physical world and from the deepest needs of life, has been created, and it is in this mental world that reality is to be found. Before such a reality can be discovered, a long and difficult training in the subtleties of Logic, Mathematics, and Metaphysics is needful. Indeed, some of the present-day advocates of Absolutism state that a man cannot know God unless he is a metaphysician. If this be so, what is to happen to the millions who have no opportunities or time or knowledge of the Absolute of Speculative Philosophy? Are they to remain outside the highest Reality? and have they to continue to live on superstitions and illusions? Eucken's answer is distinctly, 'No.' He shows everywhere that, however valuable the conclusions of Logic and Metaphysics may be in the direction of enabling man to realize the nature of the real, there is another road on which the ordinary man

may walk and obtain a Reality which is deeper in its nature and more transforming in its power than that of logical universals. Plenty of time and an escape from the world are necessary to the enjoyment of the conclusions of Speculative Philosophy, and fortunate, doubtless, is he who is able to ruminate in such a field. But men and women have to live in a real factual world—a world which is full of confusions of all kinds, and which needs bringing into some kind of order. This fact is no doubt the cause why the late Professor James and Dr. Schiller turned to a 'gospel' more in accordance with the actual development of life on its natural sides during the nineteenth century. Eucken seems to stand midway between Absolutism and Pragmatism. His Personal Life-system has many of the implications of Absolutism. He believes in its insistence on the power of Reason as an instrument for discovering a reality higher than the physical world. In one of his latest volumes he speaks of the importance of reason in the following manner: "The modern world is now breaking away from *immediate existence* and is developing a process of life superior to such existence. This is illustrated especially in the recognition and development of a *reason* independent of the individual and of his situation in life. This

development has not only become the basis of knowledge, but also the Standard of Life; not only has there resulted an elevation beyond the standpoint of Psychology with its merely descriptive methods, but also the aspiration after a thoroughgoing elevation of human existence, as well as after a complete dispersal of all darkness and misery—both of which are to be discovered in modern life—derives its rights and its driving-power simply out of the belief in such a *reason* superior to man and yet present in man. This belief has proceeded into the world as a power of clarification and orientation, as well as of a stimulation and further development; it tolerates nothing which contradicts its claims, but what it conceives as valid it unifies the more closely and renders the more effectual. Knowledge, however, receives here its main task—viz., to develop a connected sphere of Thought and to illumine the whole of existence from such a sphere.”*

Eucken's contention is that what is specific in the spiritual structure of human life consists not in theories and learned discussions, but in an actual turn of man to the inner tasks of spiritual existence. Such a ‘turn’ is not generally brought about by means of reflection but of action. Thus

* *Knowledge and Life*, p. 163.

there seems to be a radical difference between knowing and being. Even the best ideals, which are no more than the results of intellectual thought, cannot mean as much to the man as those ideals which have been cemented into a whole by means of the struggles of the deeper, life with hostile elements without and within.

We may thus pass to Eucken's own Life-system—that of a Personal and Cosmic World. He has been obliged to part with the Life-system of Intellectualism because its reality is formal, and because it has been woven without the presence of the deeper instincts, passions, longings, and aspirations of the deepest soul.

CHAPTER III

EUCKEN'S OWN LIFE-SYSTEM OF A PERSONAL-COSMIC WORLD

THE two previous Life-systems, were shown to be insufficient to found a Reality which would take into account the whole of man's nature. The life-system of Naturalism gives us no more than things and their relations; that of Intellectualism gives only concepts and their relations. Eucken states that he is driven by the demands of life to seek for a more inclusive Life-system, which shall not ignore the results of Naturalism and Intellectualism, but which feels the need of other factors of supreme importance. Such a new system of a cosmic self-life is not a speculative metaphysic of any kind, and it is not a mere subjective wish of the individual. The important thing we have to bear in mind is that it is abundantly clear that *a movement beyond the individual* is taking place in the world, and it is loyalty to such a movement, far more than the interests of the individual in his own particular welfare, that affects the most pro-

found change in the individual. There is such a conception as the *life of mankind*. This life of mankind has become a standard and norm for each individual life. This life of mankind is to be made our central conception; and a spiritual world, which becomes personal, is to be developed out of such a conception. How does Eucken proceed in verifying this statement?

We have already hinted that Reality possesses the two characteristics of being personal and over-personal, and it is on this fact that Eucken builds his system of cosmic self-life. No more than a mere outline of his mode of procedure can be presented here, and the reader who wishes to obtain a full account of the matter is referred especially to the *Einheit des Geisteslebens*.

Our attention must again be directed to the *nature of the spirit of man*. This spirit is rooted in Nature. Much in it is physical, and the past quarter of a century has made clear that far more is physical than had been previously suspected. Eucken's system does not preclude the most mechanical conceptions of the universe and of life—even including human life. It is a noteworthy phase of his system that it will not be disturbed by any further advance in the mechanical conceptions of the universe and of life. Granting that

man is rooted in the physical, nobody will see that there is no other root in his nature. He is mind and spirit *now*, however much we may fail to follow such a root to its deepest soil. And even mechanical science is more careful than it used to be in not attributing a physical origin to the content of consciousness. My authority for stating that the life of the soul is not the same as the life of the body is Professor Schäfer.*

Besides this, the turn which the new Biology has taken during the past few years is something no less than startling. Bergson, Driesch, McDougall, Haldane, Thompson, T. H. Morgan, and others are finding it increasingly difficult to account not only for the phenomenon of consciousness, but also for the phenomena of life below man, from purely chemical, mechanical elements. And when we turn to the Physics of our day we find scientific like Oswald propounding theories of Energy which interpret the universe and life in terms of something which is certainly more like mind than like matter.

What we are certain of is that with the rise of consciousness a new kind of reality makes its appearance. It is only what might be expected

* Cf. his well-known address at the British Association, 1912.

that such a reality of mind or spirit cannot exist without a world of things in space. Of course there is nothing new in this statement. Consciousness has for many generations been considered as something very different from matter, and certainly Eucken does not claim to have made any discovery in pointing out the difference between the two. But what he has done is to point out in the most original manner that it is not enough to acknowledge this difference between mind and matter, and only half-believe in the reality of mind. Much would have happened for good in the history of mankind if it had believed in the past that mind or soul, though its connection with the body be the most intimate, still has a reality of its own—a reality not to be found, at least in the same degree, in any world *below* man. The main question with Eucken is: Are we willing to take this step of acknowledging the reality of mind or spirit? Certainly there are not enough proofs in the realm of Biology either to prove or disprove the legitimacy of such a step. It cannot possibly be known beforehand whether such a step is justified or not. But neither could Sir Ernest Shackleton say what was the contour of the land at the South Pole *until he was there*. Things are precisely similar in the realm of mind or spirit. We know that man has

emerged out of nature, but he is *more* than a natural being *now*. The question for Eucken is Does man recognize that all the upward movement of his life becomes possible by acknowledging fully the presence of this *More*? It cannot be said that the world has not known this fact for many generations. But how astonishing it is that so few have acted upon such a knowledge! Eucken states that we could have multiplied our men of genius and power if the world had 'ruminated' over the presence and significance of this *More* of mind or spirit. Men must familiarize themselves with the need of holding fast to the reality of this *More* in the teeth of every opposition. And as we shall see later there are oppositions on all sides to the growth of this *new More*. To become aware of this *More* is not a matter of theoretical speculation or of biological research. In the former case we are living on words, and the deeper spirit may starve in the process, however successful the process may be; in the latter case we are living on our relations to things outside us, and how can individuality and personality grow where the attention is constantly directed towards something other than ourselves, and that generally being something which is *below* ourselves in the scale of existence? No, the whole matter is that of a *personal experience*—a personal

experience of a new reality present in the spirit. This experience is entirely different from every manipulation of ideas by means of that fraction of our being termed the understanding. When personal experience is able to become aware of this *Spiritual More* it becomes aware of a totality or whole—in other words, it becomes aware of a living synthesis or universal present within the soul. It becomes aware of a microcosm—of something most intimate and ultimate at the same time. That is the meaning which Eucken attaches to his system of *Personal-Cosmic Life and World*. Such an experience cannot be subjective though it is *personal*, for man is always aware of the ‘given’ elements present in it. Indeed, in one sense *everything* is ‘given.’* Nature has given, history has given—the whole environment, natural and social, is giving from moment to moment. The experience is therefore *objective*, and it is *cosmic* in the sense of dependency upon a natural and social cosmos that has carried us on its breast all our days. It is no wonder, as Eucken points out, that the experience of *Grace* has played such an important part in the higher religions of the world. But though everything is ‘given,’ it is not given in the lump. It is given piecemeal, and the pieces enter into the

* Cf. Losskij's *Intuitivismus* on this.

mind and spirit, and their whole nature is transformed there. We have not the slightest idea *how* the miracle is done, but done it is in the life of the humblest spirit. Things become thoughts, and thoughts come to a focus and blend with all the *à priori* elements present in man's spirit. This, in a way, is the teaching of the ordinary Psychology of our day. But no one is 'converted' to the great totalities and wholes and unities of life by Psychology. Psychology performs a very useful function in telling us a little about *how* the thing is done, but it tells us nothing *what* the thing, after it has been done, is. Eucken shows that the relations of mind and body presented by Psychology are no more than abstractions of the deeper unity present within experience. He gives the name 'Noology' to the experience itself as distinguished from the psychological bits of information we possess concerning the history of the soul and its relations to its own material body and to the surrounding world.

Though, therefore, all is 'given,' all has to be reacted upon by the mind. We have to become *aware* of all that is given, for otherwise it will remain dormant in the mind. We thus see that the consciousness of this *More* is intensely *personal*—it is something to be preserved and to be further

developed. It is *cosmic* in the further sense that, though it has landed man in a *new world*, that does not mean that it has made the whole of that world its own. The soul certainly sees that what is present within itself is infinite and eternal. That means in the beginning that the *new life* belongs to a *new order of existence* which, though it exists in space and time, still is spaceless and timeless. There arises now on the horizon of life, once the reality of the *new spiritual More* has been emphasized again and again and has been made the foundation of all true human existence, the possibility of attaining still more content for the life. Moments of calm and contemplation on our spiritual existence (little enough though such an existence be in the beginning) bring forth startling, new, and unique experiences. The content seems, after the whole soul has made it its foundation and has determined to test it, to acquire a deep need and aspiration for *more* still of the deeper quality that has now filtered into the soul as a unity or whole. Consequently a break has for ever taken place with natural existence, and the soul knows that a *new reality* has begun to take root within it. Such a reality cannot for long feed on what is already in the soul, and there is not enough in Nature or Society for it to feed upon. Where can

it turn for a new content? It may turn in several directions. It may turn to the projecting and magnifying of the little 'More' that is already a reality within it upon the canvas of infinity and eternity; in other words, it multiplies its possession in imagination and holds it out as an object of thought and a requisite of life. "What strange world-whispers, mystic pain or joy, that used to haunt me when a boy, far, far, away"—these are revived with startling suddenness; and such ideals, too great to be reduced to definite logical concepts, help to change in a most fundamental manner the nature of the soul and to claim it for once and for all to the things of eternity. "This is no other than the 'regeneration' of the soul as it is presented in the nucleus of the Christian religion. Some reader may answer again: "There is nothing new in that; it is in the Gospels; it is in Paul; it is found throughout the whole history of the Christian Church." No, there is nothing new in it as Eucken is so fond of pointing out. But perhaps it is new to preach it from a University chair as part and parcel of the deeper implications of Philosophy. We are glad to find that such a change is rapidly coming over the philosophic world. It is no longer able to write books on Metaphysics and other branches of Philosophy without taking Religion and

the deepest soul of man into account. Until lately, most of our philosophical teachers had banished the soul and its needs in order to deify the concept and the syllogism, and to show the marvellous con-
 queries they were able to perform. All this is passing away. The spirit of man has been waiting all the time for some one to come forward to present its claims and to show that it is more than a mere useless trimming of the natural life which starts in the cradle and ends in the tomb. Eucken has come forth as champion of this life of the spirit. He challenges the sciences and the philosophies of the day to reduce man's spirit into a mere flowering of the material processes of nature, or into a bundle of physical movements within the brain. No answer either to the needs or the aspirations of the spirit of man is to be found in such teachings. It is not a hypothesis but a fact that a cleavage has been made between man's spirit and nature. By nature here Eucken means not only the physical world, but also the psychic life as well as the ordinary life of man. A Deed which is *entire* has now taken place within the spirit, and such a Deed has relegated the whole world of matter, of psychic life, of ordinary life, and even of the intellectual life to a secondary place. This does not mean that these are to be ignored: The real spiritual world is

- within, but things infra-spiritual have their rights and uses, and will continue to have these as long as we are obliged to live in a physical world of space and time. Indeed, many of these infra-spiritual elements actually contribute their quota to the spiritual life within the soul. The nature which nourishes us, the houses we live in, the vocations we fill, the clothes we wear, the friends we meet, the state of which we are subjects—they all help us. But they often also all injure us, and threaten to bring our spiritual life to naught. This double aspect is delineated by Eucken with great power in his *Truth of Religion*. Whether helpful or harmful, *the world of existence* has to be differentiated in a decisive manner from *the world of deed*. The whole triumph of the spiritual life within the soul depends upon accomplishing this cleavage. “What leads the struggle against the narrowness of a life ‘merely human and personal’ is in the last resort a specific aspiration of life itself—a quest for a deeper and richer *self-existence and self-subsistence*. If this process does not find its home in such qualities as these—if it does not hold together a *superior unity* and transform it into a result—the whole movement will dissipate itself in the sand. All this cannot come to pass if *the world of deed* does not first of all stand out in

strong relief from the *world of existence*, and if this *world of deed* is not comprehended purely in its *self-existence* and *self-subsistence*. Without this there is no binding into a whole and no distinctive marks of character. But we have already seen that the division between the two worlds is inhibited from being an entire cleavage—that the *deed-world*, in order to find its own consummation, has to return to the *world of existence*; and this can only be done if, first of all, the *world of existence* is viewed (by a process of abstraction) as entirely independent of the *world of deed*. . . . There must be, on the one side, a serious wrestling with the *deed-world*, and, on the other, with the *world of existence*, if the *spiritual world* of man is to develop and express its full characteristics. But the co-operation of both worlds must not be understood as a kind of combination of two different things as something to which the *deed world* gives the *form* and the *world of existence* gives the *material*. Such a combination can never engender a *living whole*—indeed, the two elements can never come together in an *inner* manner. For if the life of the spirit is to progress, the conditions and circumstances of the *external world* are rather to be placed upon the ground of the *deed-world*, and are here to be transformed into an antithesis furnishing motives for the

further development of the life of the spirit. The *deed-world* is not a mere side of life, but constitutes the whole or totality of life—a whole that can submit to nothing outside itself; but it is a whole or totality that is as yet incomplete, and which can perfect itself by means of contact and collision with *external existence*.”*

As the spiritual life proceeds on its course it has often to battle with stubborn elements. Bergson speaks of the stubbornness of matter and of the difficulty of life to overcome it. Eucken speaks of the stubbornness of much that is in the world outside, and in our own inner world. In the world outside, the spiritual life finds itself hemmed in by alien, hostile elements; the injustice and hardness of the world, the huge ‘baggage train’ of superstition and indifference and ignorance, are not things which vanish in a day, and never vanish without battling ever anew with them. In the world within, where the spiritual life has taken root, deadly enemies are to be encountered. The racial instincts, the impulses and passions, the oft-repeated tendencies to obey the ‘call of the wild,’ the drifting along the long-trodden ‘dead level’ life—these and other elements arise and fight with all their fury against the eternal and immortal

* *Knowledge and Life*, pp. 243 ff.

power which has been planted in the soul. It is no wonder, as Eucken says, that the conception of a devil is not very far away from the highest religions of the world, or from the deepest experiences of him who has seen through his own soul. The opposition appears so serious in the initial stages of the spiritual life, that help must come to the soul to overcome in such a struggle as this. It is no less than a struggle between two worlds—the world from which we have emerged and the world into which we have just been spiritually born. We have to go back, according to Eucken, time after time and insist that the *foundation* of our life is now spiritual, immortal, and eternal. We are born into another world; we must insist on this. Often we are partially beaten in this battle, but if we have once experienced the deepest unity and substance within ourselves something cosmic and spiritual has for ever made its abode within the soul, and all the forces of the enemy can never utterly obliterate it. As Eucken puts it, something essential, substantial, and cosmic, has become ours, and this can never be entirely lost. For the soul here sees not only its content already attained, but also the content that ought to be attained. Out of its own content there arise norms and standards of a state of existence pos-

sible for man—a state which he as yet has not attained.

These norms and standards are seen by the soul to be elements of cosmic significance, for it is only when it clings to these in the day of battle that the victory becomes a certitude. 'The spiritually New and More' is lost when it loosens its hold upon such norms and ideals. But when it tightens its grip something further, new, more, and cosmic, is added to the experience, and it is this which conquers in the day of battle. This is no speculative truth, but a fact exemplified in one way or another in the lives of the great religious personalities of the world. "The affirmation [the New and the More] has brought forth far too much spiritual movement and newness of life to allow itself to be swept aside as a mere illusion. Therefore there must be present in such a need of the life of man something deeper, for man, through some kind of energy, will hold fast to his life with a confident hope and trust, although these cannot be justified by any view of things as seen on the mere surface. No great thinker has more truly seen the urgency of these problems and brought them more powerfully to expression than Augustine. Before his eyes the old world sank before a new one had yet emerged; he found himself haunted

by the dread of a wholly empty world, and felt all the desolation and contradiction of human existence with the most painful intensity. And yet he held fast to life and withstood the total destruction of his soul. But why? Because the hindrance itself brought him to the consciousness that something greater than it is imbedded in it; because all menace and intimidation made him absolutely certain of something in his nature which could never be lost. This something is of an axiomatic kind—something at first mysterious; but out of the mystery a powerful energy originates and gives birth to a new and higher need of life which, over against the energy of nature, may be termed *metaphysical*. . . . The experience of Augustine is not singular, but is an experience of mankind, an experience of all individuals to whom these problems have come to signify their life and destiny.”*

The man of science or the psychologist may smile at all this, and say that all this is not Philosophy but Religion. If such a man will turn to the deeper implications of all the great philosophical thinkers of the world he will not fail to find that they were all searching for a reality deeper than the interpretation of the physical universe or the

* *Truth of Religion*, p. 402 (second English edition)..

relations and combinations of intellectual conception. There is no wall of partition between natural science, philosophy, and religion. 'Start in the field of science and walk far enough you will come to a narrow gate which leads into the field of philosophy. After sitting on this for a while, repeat your experiment in the philosophical field. Walk on, though there is a good deal of mist around the path; still, if you walk far enough, you are bound to reach a Metaphysic. And forgetting for a little while where you have come from, and remembering where you are, and noticing what is around you, and trying to follow the path farther, because it does not end where you are—when you have done this you will be on an altitude high enough to see things as Mathew Arnold so suggestively remarked—you will 'see life steadily and see it whole.' It is something like this which Eucken means when he insists on the need of a metaphysic of life and of religion. We shall now turn to his view of religion.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION

HITHERTO we have observed how the life of the spirit has created a cleft within the soul itself. We have further seen that physical and psychical elements were relegated to a secondary place. Real these certainly are, but they belong to a lower grade of reality than the life of the spirit. So far as we have already gone the life of the spirit is aware of its new existence and of its entrance into a new world, but the first experience is soon damped by storms and blasts from without and within. And it is in this fact that Eucken takes note of the great *antinomy* in human existence. On the one hand, as we have already noticed, the life of the spirit felt itself to be a *self-subsistent* life; it was fully convinced in certain moments of its experience of its spiritual *autonomy*. The life is posited between the *antinomy* and the *autonomy*, and its tragedy consists in this. The spiritual life in its battle for *autonomy* is assailed by Nature, by much in civilization and culture, and by much within itself. It is assailed

by the natural process. "As nature itself with its order and mechanism enters into the very soul of man, the awakened spiritual life must verify its independence and superiority over against this; it must rule our actions more and more, and must link all effort to its own career. How could it otherwise affect a revolution of the total reality?"

"Do the facts of experience show such a 'becoming' superiority of the spiritual life? They show quite the reverse. The spiritual development of man as well as the natural life of the soul remain attached to the order of nature; they become and grow with the body. The spiritual life, too, waxes and wanes within us. That the body is more to man than a mere tool is clearly proved by so-called mental pathology—which is really brain pathology—which contracts most powerfully the psychic activity and drives man to perverted paths. Death, again, with its extinguishing of the whole existence, appears as a great evil proceeding from the province of nature. For the spiritual life sets aims within the individual being which far outrun the short span of existence; activities are initiated and relationships of man to man formed which involve a longing after a permanency of duration; the man works with incessant toil for his own cultivation, and attains by his labours a

personal standing and a spiritual individuality only to witness all his results so cruelly destroyed. Over against this, there awakens an ardent longing to burst such limits asunder, and to participate in some way in eternity ; thus religion has become in the main the promise of individual immortality. But not only does experience fail to give the least clue to this, it also refuses to affirm that what appears on the one hand as indispensable is on the other hand superfluous. And, further, how often does all spiritual emotion fade in the soul ; the spirituality becomes numb and dull, and by gradual stages it almost wholly dies in the lifetime of man. What has immortality to do with such a spent-out life ? . . . Earthquakes and floods as in a play destroy the blossoming spiritual life ; pestilence and famine produce their effects without any concern for human welfare and spiritual values. . . . A mysterious sphinx stands in front of us, incessantly bringing to birth and bringing to death, patiently preparing and rashly destroying, benevolent and pitiless at the same time, its objects quickly befriending one another and quite as quickly pursuing one another in a relentless struggle ; all this verifies the saying that nature is less of a mother than of a step-mother to her children. . . . Further, the most appalling destruction of life, the occasions of

dreadful malformations, the inheritance of painful diseases, follow throughout in accordance with the laws of nature and with the causal order. Of what help to reason, it may be asked, is that which places so much power in the hands of unreason?"*

We see from this wonderful passage that Eucken does not shut his eyes to the catastrophes of the world; he faces them all, and still finds a refuge for the soul within its new world of eternal values. When we view civilization and culture the case is similar. Here, again, the spiritual life finds much to harass it and drive it out of its course. What are the oppositions, the wars, the jealousies, and the savageries of the world in the past and in the present but deadly weeds which have often nearly choked the ideals of the Kingdom of God?

The same is true with regard to the opposition within the particular province of the spiritual life itself. How often does the individual become no more than the tool of the environment: "The individual appears as a child of his age; the waves of his age play with him and carry him far out until he becomes without a will of his own, and merely floats on the current of external circumstances." "Civilized life heightens these entanglements through its multiplication and refinement of

* *Truth of Religion*, pp. 291 ff. (second English edition).

wants and needs, through its manifold complications and the narrow concentration of men, through its fierce blaze of ambition and lust for gain—all which are deemed necessary for our self-preservation. . . and thus the thing that really matters appears as a painful inversion, and comes in for unfriendly criticism.”* It is no wonder that Eucken asks: ‘How shall we disengage ourselves from such a confusion? And what becomes of the presence of the Divine through such an upheaval of morality? In so far as the actual situation has been acknowledged, it has to all appearance less strengthened the reason of our existence than brought the uneasiness of it to clear consciousness.”†

The situation is dark; shall we abandon ourselves to what restrains the spiritual life-process, and which expects safety only through death and annihilation? Eucken answers that the individual could do this if the movement of life were his own concern—his own private fact. But he cannot do this “if within him a Life-process not capable of being exactly defined—the opening out of a higher order of things—is acknowledged. Thus, there is something in him which he dare not rob himself of; he now deals with a problem which he himself has not set, but which, as from a sublime energy,

* *Truth of Religion*, p. 325.

† *Ibid.*, p. 325.

rises within him and refuses to be abandoned. However much of all this is concerned with the renunciation of his own happiness man is not able to disown his spiritual nature and its tasks. In his nature and its tasks a fact seems committed to him which is of value not only for himself but for the whole; for the vindication of a higher order of things does not seem possible without his activity. Therefore, beyond all the physical oppression of life something metaphysical seems to govern and forbid a simple abandonment." As we shall see, a superior power can come to man's assistance.

It is on account of this *need* in man's nature—a need which always occurs in the drift of his higher development—that Eucken sees the main justification of Religion. We have already noticed how the spiritual seemed to have gained a certain autonomy and self-subsistence; its nature and content seemed, without a doubt, to belong to another order of being and existence. Such a nature and content were far removed from objects of sense, and they seemed to point to a 'world' even beyond the 'world' of intellectual conclusions, although such a 'beyond' may be no other than a 'beyond that is within.' That 'beyond' included within itself the whole spirit of man; it was the final conviction and final word of man's knowledge and life after having come

to a coalescence. This experience is the most weighty fact in human experience. Man, once he has experienced the presence and power of such a fact, cannot withdraw from it except at the peril of losing the qualities which are the most precious in his life. What is he to do? It is certainly true that he has here committed himself to an experience which is extremely difficult, and probably impossible, to grasp as intellectual facts are grasped. But surely this is no reason for withdrawing from the experience or for considering it a delusion.. The alternative—the great Either-Or of Eucken's—has vital and momentous consequences: on the one hand are certitudes and future possibilities which mean a new kind of life and a new order of being, and, on the other, a death which is brought about by reducing life to the impressions and results of natural and intellectual impressions and conclusions. Life must take one of the two alternatives—no third path is possible. Now, it has been already shown that it is the *necessity* of life as well as the presence of over-individual norms and values which make life move further towards this unexplored region. There is therefore no way of showing the validity of the enterprise except by taking into account the nature and the implications of the content and value of the deepest experience. It is certainly

- true that natural and intellectual elements have filtered their contributions into such an experience, but that does not mean that the experience is either
- natural or intellectual *per se*. This fact is so often forgotten by empirical philosophers that attention should be called to it. The fallacy is committed because the philosopher overlooks the fact that the objects of the physical world have somehow to
- come into contact with man's consciousness and the
- contact has to change into concepts before the world becomes intelligible at all. However much we may try, we can never obliterate man's mental potency in the act of perceiving and knowing the world outside himself. The very possibility of any kind of progress in the sciences rests upon the acceptance of such a fact—for fact it is, however far we are from explaining all the constituents of its history and formation. Even on this level of dealing with the principles of science and of logic, for instance, we are actually employing relations and conclusions
- which are far removed from any sense data. Sense data have entered into the formation of these principles, but, as already stated, they cease to be data of sense when the spirit of man, by means of its own power, has reacted on them and has melted them in the totality or wholeness of its power in order that they may form a larger totality or wholeness.

We do not dispute the justice of handling material which has no direct relation to life in such a fashion as this. We see that the very preservation and enhancement of all our sciences depend upon the use of such a method in our dealing with the external world. Why should we dispute the legitimacy of the method when we are dealing with ourselves—when we are trying to 'read our own breasts clear.' The norms and values which have issued as the final implications of Knowledge and Life always seem to ring true, and we should never doubt their reality and validity had it not been that *existence in space* has been for so long one of our main tests of the reality of anything. But surely such a test is not worthy of Philosophy after all that has been said on this point by the thinkers of the centuries! To cling to such a test is to fail to appreciate, and to attempt to undo the works of such thinkers as Plato, Kant, Hegel, and many others in ancient and modern times.

Eucken then takes his standpoint on the fact of a self-subsistent life pressed by its own demands to seek for a further content. He takes it that everything tells us to go forward, except the lethargy and the spiritual ebb of our lives. Suppose we are determined to follow the inklings of the self-subsistent life, where are we to get our material? It must not

be material which is entirely alien to the content that is already present in the life. If that were the case, we should never have either the wish or the will to push forward and upward. In seeking for *more* we are not seeking for some kind of *more* which lies beyond the boundary of our life; we are, in fact, seeking for ourselves; we are seeking for a greater depth of our own nature; we are seeking to preserve and to deepen the values already present in the life and to increase them.

In Eucken's teaching there are three paths which open out in front of us, and which help the different sides of our nature. These are the paths of Universal Religion, the Historical Religions, and Specific or Personal Religion.

With regard to *Universal Religion*, it may be stated that Eucken means by it the intellectual warrants which may be obtained from the history of mankind in connection with our own personal undertaking and quest for this *More* for our spiritual life. The history of the progress of mankind is far more a history and progress of *over-individual* efforts and their resultant *complexes* and *syntagmas* than of independent, individual efforts. The relations of men in the family, the tribe, the community, society, science, the state, and the church have, as is quite clear, formed complexes of life

larger than can possibly be the experiences of any one individual that forms any of these groups. The common efforts and relations have brought forth individual activity, and such individual activity was something that was common to all the group, and good and true for all. Many of the individual inclinations and wants of life had to be pushed into the background before such an over-individual truth and reality could become possible. These over-individual complexes are not the facts and events which once appeared in our world, but the *interpretation* and *meaning* of these facts and events. Thus, they do not depend upon place and time. They have persisted as norms and standards for all the facts and events which make their appearance. Such complexes could not have come into existence without the facts and events. This is simply a treatment of the history of mankind in a manner similar to that of the scientist's when he deals with the facts and events which present themselves to him in the external world from moment to moment. We have already dealt with this work of science, and here wish to emphasize that the relations of mankind and the complexes issuing out of such relations have to be treated in a similar manner. The subject-matters of science and of history are, of course, different; what is

emphasized here is that in science and history the quest for *universals* has been a condition absolutely necessary for all development in both sciences. It is not here denied, either, that the *particular* is valueless. It will be shown later that it has great value. What, then, are the norms and ideals present in the life of the spirit of man save over-individual realities which have persisted in the history of the world and which ever grow by the individual and collective contributions of men and communities? When man reflects upon them in this manner he cannot escape from the conclusion that they constitute a reality entirely different from his individual life—a reality which is objective in man's ideal world and not in a spatial world. Eucken in several of his books therefore distinguishes between *substance* and *existence*. Over-individual ideals and values *exist for the self*. That is the world in which they have their reality. In other words, they exist in a *world of spirit*. Man must then give up the idea of ever hoping to prove, that they exist elsewhere. The true infinity is not an endlessness of space, but a consciousness that within the particular life something not found in space has begun to happen as an experience within the soul. The true eternity is not an endless flow of successive moments, but the meaning of many

moments gathered into a unity or whole, and thus constituting, in the midst of the factual events of time, another kind of reality which follows time and gathers its fragments into itself. Something of this nature is ever present in religious experience, although that experience is not able to give a logical account of it. It is present as an experience in the lives of people who have not the slightest notion of the methods and results of science and philosophy. Such people cannot account for the *How* of the experience, but they are absolutely certain of its substantiality—its Noology—and of its cosmic value and significance. It means all to them. They cannot, as already stated, withdraw from the experience; it has created too great a change in the whole experience and outlook of life—giving such strength and calm in the darkest hours—to exchange it for that which flows on the surface of the moment or which can be packed within the confines of the human understanding. This cosmic value is, in the language of Philosophy, termed the Absolute; in the language of religion it is termed God. But we must not forget the immanence and the transcendence of this conception of God. We have already shown that God cannot be altogether quite different from man's experience at this level. He is that

experience, but that experience is conscious of its own cosmic significance and of perpetual need for *more*. Thus God is different from the experience in the sense that there is now implanted within the soul the steadfast faith that *more* is to enter as its possession. What has already entered—which is of priceless value—is the earnest of the soul for the *more* that will surely come. Thus a *spiritual universal*, according to Eucken, is growing in the soul along with the *particular*, and these two sides of life must continue to grow as long as we live in this world.

But we must pass to Eucken's conception of the Historical Religions and see briefly what is to be gained in this path. In the first place, these religions are evidently *spiritual complexes* which have persisted in the history of the world, and consequently they may be treated under the heading of *universal religion*. But they are something else as well. They deal with what *actually happened* in the world: *they present experimental proofs of the claims made by universal religion*. What are the lives of the spiritual heroes of history but proofs of the presence and efficacy of an over-individual reality having been realized as a factual experience? Taking as our example the life of Jesus, what is it but an actual proof of an over-world reality dwelling in the life of man? This

experience of the individual hero has become like the religious complex to which he gave rise, also a religious complex of its own—a complex which has become the norm and standard of so many millions of human beings for nearly twenty centuries.

“That great ‘turn’ of religion is the raising up of new demands to the level of the spiritual life, and a blotting out of what had hitherto satisfied man. Thus we find it most of all in the personality and life-work of Jesus. Here we find a human life of the most homely and simple kind passed in a remote corner of the world, little heeded by his contemporaries, and, after a brief period of blossoming, cruelly put to death. And yet, this life had an energy of spirit which filled it to the brim; it had a standard which has transformed human existence to its very root; it has made inadequate what hitherto seemed to bring entire happiness; it has set limits to all petty natural culture; it has not only stamped as frivolity all absorption in the mere pleasures of life, but has also reduced the whole prior circle of man to the mere world of sense. Such a valuation holds us fast and refuses to be weakened by us even when all the dogmas and usages of the Church are detected as merely human institutions. That life of Jesus occupies evermore a tribunal over the world; and the

“majesty of such an effective bar of judgment supersedes all the development of external power.”*

This paragraph represents in a vivid manner what Eucken means by the value of the Historical Religions. They “include” within themselves the *universal* and the *unique*.

But what has to be borne in mind is that much of all this can be known without being experienced as a portion of one’s own inner life. There is no space for me to unfold the meaning of the difference between *knowing* something and *being* the thing we know. The fact of this fundamental difference is what makes Eucken pass through universal religion, the historical religions and their founders to a Characteristic or Specific religion. In other words, man has to become the thing he knows to be of eternal value. Thus personal religion is not merely intelligence, but a *deed* that is the ground and impregnation of the world and the source of all true activity. “The conception of personality, though only a symbol, yet offers us the best symbol for all this. Not only are we able to, but we must, maintain a union of such a penetrating *deed* with the human soul awakened to spirituality. We have seen why a clear consciousness of the insufficiency of all con-

* *Truth of Religion*, p. 360.

ceptual delineations need not in any way lessen the energy and truth of such experiences; it need not prevent a mutual intercourse, as of an I with a Thou."* This passage is sufficient to establish Eucken's belief in prayer. It seems to have become a belief amongst some, who have written on Eucken that because the word 'Prayer' is not found in any index to any one of his books that he has no belief in what is meant by 'Prayer' in the deepest sense. The point to be remembered is that Eucken's final conclusion is to establish a relation between the individual and an over-individual ideal and world; and, indeed, to use the symbol of personality as one of the chief symbols for depicting the Highest Reality, or God. The effects of personal religion have already been touched on in the previous chapter, which pointed out how the individual had obtained a footing in a spiritual world. Personal religion means carrying ever farther the implications of the life of the spirit. Each step, climbed in the direction of the summit, will bring a greater depth of reality within the soul on the one hand, and will, on the other, point to a more glorious summit still to be scaled. The spiritual life is thus a life of ever new quest and fruition.

* *Truth of Religion*, p. 489.

But Eucken shows that not only must a great struggle issue in order to gain a footing into our *new world*; incessant efforts must be made to push farther into the unexplored land in order to increase our spiritual possessions. When men will become willing to do this, we shall get a *new man* and a *new world*. It is in the light of mankind accomplishing something of this nature that Eucken sees a solution for our entangled situation to-day in the realms of the state, of society, of morality and of religion. All other work does not go to the bottom of the evil. Religion has accomplished a fundamental change in the lives of individuals. Why cannot it do the same in the life of the race if the race will try it? We require no new truth in order to establish the efficacy of religion. We have already truths enough and to spare, but *the truth* can only come when a great longing will arise once again within the human soul to experience the depths of reality and the heights of bliss. Religion is able to accomplish this. It is waiting for the world to lay hold on its power. "It is necessary to raise life to the height of an essentially self-subsisting spirituality, and to gain a new domain—a new place for spiritual experience; it is here necessary to experience the Nay and the Yea and to bring them to a right relationship, and

finally raise all to an undivided and encompassing life. The main proof of religion lies always in the whole of life developed out of religion. This whole must draw to itself the entire area of existence, it must sift and winnow, connect and raise; it must conduct things to their truth; it must initiate a powerful movement which, through its own content and its progressive victorious superiority, demonstrates its own truth. Here it is not a doctrine which man has merely to accept and follow that leads to religion, but a life held in front of him and brought near to him; it is for this he is called, for it is this alone which grants him the right relationship to reality, and enables him to dive into the depth of his own nature. Through this the idea of reality is transformed, extended, and deepened. The elevation of the level of reality, the inner ascent of life in a manner superior to all capacity of the mere individual, the growth and creativeness—all these are the main proof which religion is able to bring forth. The fact that religion, with its willing and creating, stands in no isolation, but finds itself in the centre of life, that it furthers the whole, and not merely isolated sides, and that it leads to its own truth—all this belongs essentially to this main proof. As with all things original and axiomatic, this new life is

positively demonstrated through its own development, and not through a deduction from some other premises: it carries its most effective energy of conviction in the strength and clearness of its own development; it never allows itself to be forced from without, but only to be stimulated from within, and it cannot possibly convince and gain us where such a stimulation finds no kind of responsive spirit." "The decision finally lies in the question whether for man the external world or a spring of life within himself is *the main fact*, whether the centre of gravity of reality is found without or within. *It is a struggle for the governing centre of life.* If the inner life attains to no independence and is not led as a whole, the contradictions of the environing world appear insurmountable, and man must decline religion as an impossibility. But if the inner life reaches such an independence, and if man finds within the spiritual life simultaneously a new world and his own genuine self, the gravest misgivings will not be able to overthrow the certainty of this fundamental fact. Thus, this fundamental fact remains as the first and foremost, and uplifts itself far above the contradictions of the whole external world, so that the aspect of the world has to accommodate itself to this fact, and not this fact to that

aspect. True, even after such a decision, the contradiction does not simply vanish, but as holiness retains the background of suffering, so certainty will preserve its 'one thing needful' as the background of doubt. But the contradiction is now removed from the centre to the periphery of life; it can therefore only touch us from without, and is not able to overthrow what is within; it will now not so much weaken as strengthen the certainty, because it calls life to a perpetual renewal and brings to fruition the greatness of the quest."*

This is the conclusion which Eucken arrives at in his great work, *The Truth of Religion*, concerning the real meaning, value, and significance of spiritual religion; and it is this which he designates as the essence of the Christian Religion.

Eucken's presentation of religion, especially from the Christian standpoint, does not go further back than the appearance of the first edition of *The Truth of Religion* in the year 1901. Previous to this he had made several contributions to the significance of the life of the Founder of Christianity. Since 1901 Eucken's interest seems to have deepened as to the necessity of pointing out that the new Metaphysic of Life which he has announced is in

Cf. Truth of Religion, close of chapter xii.

complete accord with the *substance* of Christianity. The need of a religious organization in the form of a Church is emphasized in several of his later works. This is so because the *over-individual truths and values* stand the chance of increasing in power when people collectively direct their attention to them. There is not enough spirituality in culture, in ordinary social life, or in the State, to bring about a radical transformation in the lives of the people. The Church offers the best vehicle for this fundamental work. It keeps alive attention to spiritual values and calls the individual to a participation in these as well as to membership in a religious community.

But, though Eucken sees the value of the Church, still he is aware of grave dangers into which it has stepped. For many centuries the Church has mixed up the *substance* of the Christian religion with its *form of existence*. The time has arrived to differentiate the two in a fundamental manner. The *substance* is the spiritual element in religion; it deals with over-individual ideals and values (or, in the language of religion, with the revelation of the Divine); it deals also with the needs and aspirations of the human soul. Certainly some amount of thought is present in every such experience, but it is thought united with the needs

and the aspirations of man, in a way that all the individual elements of man's nature work from a basis which is a totality or whole of his nature. The work accomplished here is done, according to Eucken, by means of an *entire deed* of man. When that entire deed is at work it constitutes its own reality, and works for the elevation of life to a higher spiritual world. Too much of the nature is at work to ask the question as to what earthly use is all this effort, or how does the ideal which is present differ from intellectual theories which have clung for centuries around the *substance* of the Christian religion. In cool reflective moments there arises doubtless some kind of need for attending to the intellectual truth of Christianity, for unless this is done the *substance* itself may be seriously injured. It is evident that this intellectual clothing of Christianity—being, as it is, knowledge—must change. And Eucken claims that a radical change is imperative in this direction to-day. Such a change must never be undertaken without preserving the *substance*. If the substance is preserved, the intellectual elements of a past mode of thought, found in Christianity, can be left on one side, and new forms adopted without the least injury, but, indeed, with a gain which cannot be over-estimated.

The substance constitutes the *eternal* in Christianity. It is no other than the announcement of the union of the Divine and the human. Such a union was not brought about in the life of the Founder by means of any sensuous miracle, but by means of a consciousness within the soul of a quality within it transcending space and time, transcending the ordinary social life and also all the intellectual conclusions of science and philosophy. A consciousness of this constitutes the *nucleus* of Christianity. Such a nucleus was present in the life of the Founder. He is an experimental proof to us of the presence of the Divine within the soul—a presence which is man's own spiritual nature, but which grows more and more by means of constant *entire deeds* in the direction of over-individual values which have cosmic significance, and which constitute the God of the Christian religion.

We thus see that Eucken's *Metaphysic of Life* is, in the last resort, the same as the Christian Metaphysic whose seeds can be gathered from the actual lives of the Founder and the great religious heroes of the first century of the Christian era. Our work to-day lies in emphasizing this *spiritual* element of Christianity and to carry it further. There are many obstacles in the way—within and

without the Christian Church. But Eucken states that he sees a cloud on the horizon, probably as yet 'no bigger than a man's hand,' but which contains the promise and potency of 'showers of blessings,' which are in store for us if we observe the deepest needs and aspirations of our nature. These blessings will constitute the culmination of knowledge and the social movements of mankind. Proofs for all these things are impossible in the initial stages, and, indeed, intellectual proofs based upon sensuous aspects of nature or of the life of the body are also excluded from us, as well they must because they all belong to a stage of reality lower than that upon which the spiritual man stands. The spiritual man will not discover the meaning and immortality of his soul in any sensuous or psychical realm either, of Physics, Biology, or Psychology. He will discover infinity and eternity in the experiences which are happening within his deepest soul, when entire deeds come to an awakening and put forth their whole spiritual energy in order to reach ends which belong to a higher world of being and existence than either our physical or mental world, although both these have not only opposed us but have also helped us to attain such a spiritual summit.

Many important aspects of Eucken's teaching cannot be more than touched upon in this little book, but it is hoped that enough has been made clear to give us all encouragement to work for the great consummation of the creation of a new man and a new world. Eucken closes his great work, *The Truth of Religion*, with words to this effect—words which are the result of a spiritual optimism that has been reached by facing all the contradictions of life and the world, and finally finding the final conviction of things leading to an autonomous personal life, cosmic in its nature and infinite in its duration. This is to be found in the final chapter of *The Truth of Religion*:

“The possibilities of life are not exhausted: new avenues and tasks open out whenever we discover the courage of creativeness and the right point of attack, but it is imperative that we should possess the conviction, and that the conviction should possess us, that Reality has a depth beyond the natural man, and that we can gain entrance to such a depth.

“But a movement towards a more essential, soul-stirring culture—to a progressive superiority of a complete life beyond all individual activities—cannot arise without bringing the problem of religion once more to the foreground. Our life is

not able to find its bearings within this deep, or to gather its treasures into a Whole, unless it realizes how many acute opposites it carries within itself. Either Life will be torn in pieces by these opposites, or it must somehow be raised above them all. It is the latter alone that can bring about a fundamental transformation of our first and shallow view of the universe, as well as the inauguration of a new reality. It is this which religion announces to man, and promises to bring to his soul in its dire need. Man has emerged out of the darkness of nature and remains afflicted with the afflictions of nature, yet at the same time, with his appearance upon the earth, the darkness begins to illumine, and 'nature kindles within him a light'*; he who is a mere speck on the face of a boundless expanse can yet aspire to a participation in the whole of Infinity; he who stands in the midst of the flux of time yet possesses an aspiration after infinite truth; he who forms but a mere piece of nature, at the same time constructs a new world within the Spiritual Life over against nature; he who finds himself hemmed in by contradictions of all kinds, which immediate existence in no way can solve, yet struggles after a further depth of reality and, after the 'narrow gate,' which opens into

* Schopenhauer.

religion. Through and beyond all the particular problems of life and the world, it behoves us to raise the Spiritual Life to a level of full independence, to make it at the same time superior to man as an individual, and to bring it back into his soul. When this comes to be, there is also transformation of his inmost being, and for the first time he becomes capable of genuine greatness.

The aspiration after a new civilization and culture carries thus within itself in an immediate and intimate manner, the aspiration after a rejuvenation of religion. Religion, civilization, and culture will thus instruct one another. Without religion the inwardness cannot become a self-reliant province and cannot rise above the external world; without a connection with the whole of life and also with civilization and culture, religion loses its specific spiritual content, and threatens to sink into a merely subjective disposition. Consequently the deficiency or curtailment of one is also an injury to the other.

“These final conclusions strengthen the aspiration after a religion of the Spiritual Life, which has run through the whole of our investigation. Such a religion is in no way new, and Christianity has proclaimed it and clung to it from the very

beginning. But it has been interwoven with the traditional forms which are now so commonly detected as pictorial ideas of epochs and times. Earlier times could allow the essence and the form to flow inseparably together without discovering any incongruity in the fusion. But the time for this has irrevocably passed away. The human, which once seemed to bring the Spiritual and Divine so near to man, has now become a burden and a hindrance to him. A keener analysis, a more independent development of the Spiritual and Divine, and along with this, the truth of religion, fail to obtain their full effects if religion is looked upon as merely something to protect individuals, instead of as that which furthers the whole of mankind—as that which is not merely a succour in times of trouble and sorrow, but also as that which guarantees an enhancement in work and creativeness. The situation is difficult and full of dangers, and few in the meantime is the number of those who grasp it in a deep and free sense, and yet who are determined to penetrate victoriously into it, so that the inner necessities of the Spiritual Life may awaken within the soul of man. Whatever new tasks and difficulties lie in the lap of the future, to-day it behoves us before all else to proceed a step upward in the direction of the ‘summits,’

and to draw new energies and depths of the Spiritual Life into the domain of man ; for it is effort of this kind which will prevent the coming of an 'old age' upon humanity and will breathe into its soul the gift of Eternal Youth."

LIST OF EUCKEN'S WORKS

1866. "De Aristotelis docendi ratione." Pars I. De particularis. This was the Doctor's Dissertation at Göttingen University.
1868. "Über den Gebrauch der Präpositionem bei Aristoteles."
1870. "Über die Methode und die Grundlagen der Aristotelischen Ethik" (Separat-Abdruck aus dem Programm des Frankfurter Gymnasiums von 1870).
1871. "Über die Bedeutung der Aristotelischen Philosophie für die Gegenwart" (Akademische Antrittsrede gehalten am 21 November, 1871). This was in Basel.
1872. "Die Methode der Aristotelischen Forschung in ihrem Zusammenhang mit den philosophischen Grundprincipien des Aristoteles."
1874. "Über den Wert der Geschichte der Philosophie" (Antrittsrede, Jena, 1874).
1878. "Die Grundbegriffe der Gegenwart." This was translated by Stuart Phelps in 1880, and published by Appleton of New York. The fourth edition has been translated by M. Booth, and has been published by T. Fisher Unwin in 1912.
1879. "Geschichte der philosophischen Terminologie."
1880. "Über Bilder und Gleichnisse in der Philosophie": Eine Festschrift.
1881. "Zur Erinnerung an K. Ch. F. Krause," (Festrede, gehalten zu Eisenberg am 100 Geburtstage des Philosophen).

1884. "Aristoteles Anschauung von Freundschaft und von Lebensgütern."
1885. "Prolegomena zu Forschungen über die Einheit des Geisteslebens in Bewusstsein und Tat der Menschheit." A translation of this by W. Tudor Jones is in preparation, and will be published by Williams and Norgate.
1886. "Die Philosophie des Thomas von Aquino und die Kultur der Neuzeit."
1886. "Beiträge zur Geschichte der neueren Philosophie." (Second edition, 1906, under the title "Beiträge zur Einführung in die Geschichte der Philosophie".)
1888. "Die Einheit des Geisteslebens in Bewusstsein und Tat der Menschheit." This will be published by Williams and Norgate, and translated by W. Tudor Jones.
1899. "Die Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker." The ninth edition appeared in 1911. Changes and additions have been made in each succeeding edition. English translation (1909) by W. S. Hough and W. R. Boyce Gibson under the title "The Problem of Human Life, as viewed by the Great Thinkers from Plato to the Present Time." (Published by Charles Scribners' Sons, New York; and T. Fisher Unwin, London.)
1896. "Der Kampf um einen geistigen Lebensinhalt." (Second edition, with many changes, 1907.) A translation of this volume will be published by Williams and Norgate in the spring of 1915.
1901. "Das Wesen der Religion." (First and second editions.) This essay was translated by W. Tudor Jones in 1904, and was published for private circulation. It is now out of print, but will soon reappear, together with another essay, "Wissenschaft und Religion."
1901. "Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion," 1901. (Second edition, with numerous changes, 1905; third edition,

with changes, 1912.) The second edition was translated by W. Tudor Jones, and published by Williams and Norgate in 1911. A translation of the third German edition was published at the close of 1912.

1901. "Thomas von Aquino und Kant: Ein Kampf zweier Welten."

1903. "Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Philosophie und Lebensanschauung." Several of these essays have been translated by M. Booth, and published by T. Fisher Unwin (1914).

1905. "Was können wir heute aus Schiller gewinnen?" (Kantstudien: Sonderdruck).

1905. "Wissenschaft und Religion." This comprises a chapter in the collection of essays entitled "Beiträge zur Weiterentwicklung der Christlichen Religion."

1907. "Grundlinien einer neuen Lebensanschauung." This volume was translated by Alban G. Widgery, and published by A. and C. Black in 1911 under the title of "Life's Basis and Life's Ideal."

1907. "Hauptprobleme der Religionsphilosophie der Gegenwart." (First edition, 1907; fourth and fifth editions, with additions, 1912.) The first edition was translated by W. R. Boyce Gibson and Lucy Gibson under the title "Christianity and the New Idealism: a Study in the Religious Philosophy of To-day." (Publishers: Harper and Brothers.)

1907. "Philosophie der Geschichte." This is an essay in the volume entitled "Systematische Philosophie" in the series "Kultur der Gegenwart."

1908. "Sinn und Wert des Lebens." (Third edition, with many additions, 1911.) The first edition was translated by W. R. Boyce Gibson and Lucy Gibson under the title of "The Meaning and Value of Life." (Publishers: A. and C. Black.)

1908. "Einführung in eine Philosophie des Geisteslebens." Translated by F. L. Pogson under the title of "The Life of the Spirit" (third edition, 1911), and published by Williams and Norgate.

1911. "Religion and Life" (the Essex Hall Lecture for 1911, published by the Lindsey Press).

1911. "Können wir noch Christen sein?" A translation of this by Lucy Boyce Gibson appeared in 1914, and was published by A. and C. Black.

1912. "Naturalism or Idealism?" (the Nobel Lecture, translated by Alban G. Widgery, and published by W. Heffer and Sons).

1912. "Erkennen und Leben." A translation of this work, by W. Tudor Jones, was published by Williams and Norgate in the spring of 1913 under the title of "Knowledge and Life: An Introduction to the Theory of Knowledge."

1913. "Zur Sammlung der Geister." The translation of this volume, by W. Tudor Jones, under the title of "Unity of Spirit: A Religious Message to the English and the German People," is now in the press, and will be published by Williams and Norgate in the spring of 1915.

1914. "The Transient and the Permanent in Christianity." This address was translated by W. Tudor Jones, and published by the Lindsey Press.

1915. "Die Philosophie des Geisteslebens." This is the author's great work on the Theory of Knowledge. It will be published in English by Williams and Norgate.

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